/219/ II. Material Culture.

178 The Caiuás who have remained within their tribal organization have preserved more of their material culture than have those living dispersed.

• 128 I shall give here a brief survey of this culture in comparison with the material culture of the Caingua tribes in Paraguay (6):

[113] 6. Cf. "Dos años entre los indios Cainguá /Two Years Among the Caingua Indians/." In preparation for publication. University of Madrid.

411 The bows and arrows of the Caiuás are somewhat shorter and finer. There are several differences in their baskets. The 285 carrying baskets (boná) characteristic of the Paraguay Indians, which are artistically decorated with interwoven designs, are missing. They are replaced by simple, completely unadorned carrying baskets that lack the rear wall, which is marked only by crossed belts made from the bark of a liana root. In general, 534 the basketry is simple and crude. -- The signal pipes are interesting; they are carved of wood, sometimes round, sometimes oval or conical; I once saw a double pipe that resembled two egg cups placed side by side.

793 Of great importance even today are the objects used in 292 connection with ceremonies. One of them is the poncho of the 237 priest of magic, trimmed with small tufts of feathers and the down of the toucan (pepper bird), ending at the bottom in fringe. [301] The poncho is woven of cotton. Over it, crossed on the chest, cotton belts with feather ornaments or numerous chains of seeds are usually worn. The head is adorned with a feather diadem consisting chiefly of toucan feathers, from the back of which hang long strings full of tufts of feathers. Sometimes jaguar claws are fastened with them. Around the wrists the priest wears [304] feather bracelets, and in the pierced lower lip the lip-plug of [301] resin, called tembetá. -- While the Tembecuá attach no special [824] value to whether or not the lip-plug is made of resin, the Caiuás regard this as essential.

2: Schaden--1 E-4, 5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/Pages 1-4 are title pages./

/5/

Preface

121
128 The objective of the present work is the anthropological study of the culture and acculturation of the Guaraní Indians living in Brazil. To be sure, it should be stressed from the outset that in these chapters there is no pretense of describing in a detailed way the tribal culture in its multiple material and non-material aspects. In order to do so, it would be necessary, not only to explore critically the very vast and rich literature on the ancient and modern Guaraní, accumulated since the times of the Conquest, but also to observe in the vicinity and for a sufficient time the variants and modalities of the culture of these Indians in all the present-day subgroups of the tribe (within and outside the national territory), to aim at a monographic elaboration of the accessible data. As necessary as a contribution of this order may be considered, it is not what is intended here. The objective of these pages, in a certain sense more modest and unpretentious, in another sense perhaps less so, is to capture, by presenting and discussing some fundamental aspects of the culture, the manner in which the processes of acculturation occur in the conflict between the Guaraní cultural configuration and diverse forms of life inherent in or in some way linked to Western civilization. Besides the ethnographic interest of the material presented, it seemed to me that this perspective is more properly an anthropological contribution for the dynamic and functional comprehension of the cultural processes. The aspects chosen for analysis are presented within a fuller, general framework, in which, in my opinion, should not be left out of consideration, among other things, an introductory chapter on the problem of the classification of the subgroups of the tribe and another one on the physical characteristics of the Guaraní.

2: Schaden--2 E-4, 5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/5 cont./

121
• 128 Notwithstanding the insights that would be procured, the comparison with other cultures, particularly tribes of the Tupí-Guaraní family, has been laid aside, save in a few exceptional cases. This because, instead of presenting a pluridimensional, complete, or exhaustive analysis of the culture, it seemed to me preferable to stay within a more restricted field. For this reason, I deemed it a good expedient to base myself principally on personal observations, presupposing that the reader has a knowledge /6/ of the existing bibliographical material, at least of the more accessible sources. Because of the nature of the work, there would be no great advantage in transcribing, reproducing, or summarizing what is to be read in the studies of Nimuendajú and other authors, ancient and modern, who wrote about the many Tupí-Guaraní tribes. On the other hand, the sources cannot be neglected, whenever one finds in them any elements indispensable for comprehending the main problem focused on here: the acculturation and concomitant detribalization of the present-day Guaraní in contact with foreign groups and cultures.

As I do not intend to present here a work of erudition, but rather an anthropological study based on the material collected on my travels, I thought it necessary to resist for the time being the temptation that arose at every step to discuss up to what point and in what sense my observations on this or that problem agreed with the other authors or not. Were it not for the position taken, it would have been easy to complete and augment a series of passages in the text, which, due to the force of circumstances, had to remain fragmentary. I have given up this expedient, for, if the essay would profit by it in one sense, it would lose in another one: the main objective would be sacrificed in the attempt at a monographic elaboration. On the other hand, the inclusion of a few details not very significant at first sight for an understanding of the central problem of the work seemed justified to the extent that it did not overload the text and fitted into the indispensable ethnographic framework of the questions formulated. Authors who might want to take up the subject will perhaps find there the concrete elements for the examination of other aspects of the phenomena of conservation and change, of intragroup homogenization, of differentiation, and other similar matters.

2: Schaden--3 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/6 cont./

121 As far as possible, the exposition is oriented in the direction
•128 of always allowing the reader to compare the characters that impress unity on the Guaraní tribal culture with the particular manifestations and the specialization of this culture within the peculiar system of each one of the subgroups or the various nuclei existing in Brazilian territory.

The methodological principle of this essay, in short, is characterized in the direction of an integrative description with regard to a knowledge of the tribal "ethos," based on a functional view of the acculturative processes. In order not to be entirely arbitrary, the choice of the aspects discussed could not be made until after a study of the culture as a whole. Strictly speaking, however, a different choice should in the final analysis reveal the same lines of Guaraní cultural dynamism. This means that the concept of fundamental aspects /7/ used here does not necessarily refer to nuclear elements or values, or to spheres of a detailed cultural elaboration, but to patterns and phenomena whose examination in conjunction with one another seems to show perhaps better than others the genuine and peculiar character of the system under appraisal. But it is also necessary to confess that a very powerful circumstantial factor also contributed to the choice: the greater or lesser consistency of the material collected in the field.

The effort spent in the elaboration sought to reconcile in some way the functionalist attitude with the typological characterization, or at least with the ideographic characterization, of the cultural configuration. In order not to lengthen the text unnecessarily, there was no attempt to make explicit some conclusions of a general nature, the direction of which the anthropologist can easily perceive from the very presentation of the elements observed. It is obvious that the way in which the data are given -- when it is not a matter of simple reporting or "anthropological empirism" -- not only presupposes a theoretical position, but is theory. And that is what one has in view when it is claimed that in a scientific work the facts "speak for themselves." To the degree that one can present them in such a way

2: Schaden--4 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/7 cont./

121 that the conjunction comes to have a signification within certain
128 scientific premises, and that this signification is evidenced by the objective description itself, it seems possible to reduce the discussion of theories to a minimum, unless this discussion is the purpose of the work.

114 This study is based on research done among Indians of Guaraní
10 idiom from different parts of Brazil. Initiated in June of 1946,
[12] the work was extended, with many and long interruptions, almost to the day of publication. I made various visits to three native villages on the Paulista coast: Rio Branco, Bananal, and Itariri; furthermore, I had repeated contacts with Indians from these villages in the cities of São Vicente and São Paulo. I have not been to the present village of Rio Comprido (Serra dos Itatins), but I met its inhabitants when they were still living in Itariri. I also worked in the Pôsto Indígena Curt Nimuendajú, formerly Araribá, in the vicinity of the city of Bauru; and I collected some material among the Guaraní of Palmeirinha (Lower Iguaçú region in western Paraná), as well as among those of Laranjinha in the Xapecó region in the "far-west" of Santa Catarina. I lived with the Indians of the tribe, particularly the Kayová subgroup, in various nuclei of southern Mato Grosso: Dourados, Panambi, Amambai, Taquapiri, and Jacareí, the latter made up of families of the Ñandéva subgroup. It was not possible for me to become familiar with some other equally important villages, /8/ such as, for example, Guarita, in Rio Grande do Sul. -- Early this year I have visited, accompanied by Mr. León Cadogan, the Mbüá-Guaraní of Paso Yovai (Yrovaí) in eastern Paraguay.

The advantage gained from the large number of nuclei visited and from the frequency of the contacts in a multiplicity of situations is counterbalanced, unfortunately, by the brief duration of my stays in the various settlements. The longest period of uninterrupted work at one single village was a stay of four weeks among the Indians of Dourados in July of 1950.

2: Schaden--S E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 Shd4 Guarani Shd4

/8 cont./

122 The trips were made possible thanks to support given by the Faculdade de Filosofia, Ciências e Letras of the Universidade de São Paulo, by the Reitoria /Rectorship/ of the same Universidade, and by the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios. To all, my sincere thanks.

114 I also want to thank, and very cordially, my many Indian friends, who, sometimes with great personal sacrifice, helped me [123] in carrying out the investigations. Without the good will continually demonstrated, the pages of this book would not have been written. It is impossible to mention them all here. I [115] shall note only a few names: Marçal de Souza, Paí /paí, religious chief among the Kayová/ José Bourbon Catalan Avelar, Paí Chiquinho, Paí Vitaliano, Nandery /religious chief among the Ñandéva and Mbüá (Mbya)/ Bastião, Capitão Maneco (or Poýdjú, who is txeruangá, my adoptive father), and Capitão 122 Francisco. I owe a very great deal to all of them.

• 128 And, in conclusion, my greatest thanks to that excellent gentleman Professor Dr. Eurípides Simoes de Paula, D.D. Director of the Faculdade de Filosofia, Ciências e Letras of the Universidade de São Paulo, who helped me to overcome all difficulties; always ready to help, he did everything in his power so that this work would be published in the best possible way.

São Paulo, 8th of July of 1954.

128

Note for the Second Edition

The benevolence with which this work, originally published as Boletim da Faculdade de Filosofia, Ciências e Letras, has been received by the critics has encouraged me to accept the proposal to republish it in the collection "Corpo e Alma do Brasil" /Body and Soul of Brazil/. Upon rereading it, I thought it best not to change it, for it describes aspects of a certain historical situation of the tribal culture in interaction with that of neighboring populations. I only made a few corrections of little importance. Some particular questions, only touched on in passing here, will be discussed in special essays at opportune times.

São Paulo, 23rd of October of 1960.

2: Schaden--8 E-4,5 (1945-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

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Chapter I

The Guaraní Tribe and Its Representatives in Brazilian Territory

197

The majority of the native populations encountered by the sixteenth-century land-clearers in the lands of the Plata basin spoke dialects of the Guaraní (1)

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1./In the original source the notes for each chapter appear at the end of the chapter. In the translation the notes appear immediately after the designations for them in the text. The notes for Ch. I appear on pp. 22-23 in the original source./ The spelling of the tribal names follows the standards of the agreement reached in Rio de Janeiro on November 14, 1953, on the occasion of the 1st Reunião Brasileira de Antropologia /First Brazilian Congress of Anthropology/, held at the Museu Nacional. The text of the agreement was published in the Revista de Antropologia, Vol. II, No. 2, São Paulo, December of 1954.

(113)

197 idiom, closely related to the tongues of the so-called Tupí tribes,
101 who dominated almost all of the Brazilian coast and large areas of
197 the interior. To the linguistic unity of these southern tribes there corresponds a relative cultural unity. Nevertheless the existence of different names for the regional subgroups and, perhaps the great spatial mobility, producing notable dispersion, are the main factors responsible for the quite common opinion that it is a matter of so many distinct tribes.

While it is probable that in other times there was cultural differentiation among the various factions of Guaraní speech, on the other hand, there is no doubt but that in the last four centuries the original differences have in large part faded. Both the Jesuit reductions, scattered throughout the basin of the Prata /Plata/, and the effects of the Iberic colonization in general disintegrated the primitive communitarian configurations, leading to different regroupings, which could not fail to bring about a high degree of cultural leveling and homogenization.

(177)
(182)

2r Schaden--7 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 Sh44 Guarani Sh44

/9 cont./

186 Among the contemporaneous Guaraní the consciousness of tribal unity did not come to prevail. Each one of the subgroups tries to accentuate and exaggerate the existing differences, to the extent of criticizing and ridiculing one another. The diversity of the dialects, of the religious beliefs and practices, of the psychic constitution, and even of the physical appearance serve as motive for each band to affirm constantly its putative superiority over the others. It is true that, as the cultural disintegration proceeds as a result of familiarity with "civilized" people, the dissensions tend to give way to a consciousness of the "Indian" as opposed to the "Brazilian" ("Portuguese") or the "Paraguayan." Thus, on the basis of the undeniable /10/ ethnic similitude and the common situation of ambivalence when confronted with the white man, certain patterns of co-operation and solidarity evolve at times chiefly when it is a matter of little bands restricted to small areas of land.

101 The Guaraní of Southern Brazil can be divided into three large groups: the Ñandéva (which includes the Apapokúva /Apapocuva/, whom the work of Curt Nimuendajú made famous) (2),

[14] 2. /From p. 22 of the original source./ Nimuendajú, 1914. This is, perhaps, the most important study on the Guaraní culture published to date.

the Mbüá /Mbya/, and the Kayová. These last are the only ones who nowadays do not use the autodenomination Guaraní in confronting strangers. As far as the current designations for the innumerable hordes found in the literature are concerned, the confusion is such that any attempt to establish order is doomed to unsatisfactory results from the outset.

[128] [114]

128 101 In spite of the slight variations among the numerous villages, the separation into three subgroups is justified mainly by linguistic differences, but also by peculiarities in the material and non-material culture. Reference will be made to these particularities at the proper time in the course of this study. The existence of three Guaraní dialects in Brazilian territory can very easily be verified. There is no doubt but that others exist outside Brazil.

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/10 cont./

197 10 Ñandéva (those who are we, those who are of ours) (3)

3./From p. 22 of the original source./ Nimuendajú, 1914, p. 288, writes: "When the Guaraní refer to themselves in their language as people or as horde, they use the expression 'Nandéva' in the case when the person spoken to is included, and 'Oréva' when the person spoken to is from another tribe; both things mean 'our people,' the latter expression excluding, and the former one including, the person to whom speech is directed."

is the autodenomination of all the Guaraní. They like to use expressions such as ñandevaekuére (4)

[128] 4. /From p. 22 of the original source./ As they occur in the course of this account, terms and phrases in Guaraní are given in the Ñandéva dialect, except in those cases where, by the context or by special mention, it is verified as one of the other dialects. Sometimes the variability of the pronunciation is also reflected in the spelling adopted. Except for the y, which represents the characteristic vowel of the Guaraní, the phonetic value of the symbols is that of the transcription system generally used for the spelling of tribal designations, which was referred to in a previous note /note 1, p. 6/.

[194]

(our people), ñandéva eté (is likewise our people), txé ñandeva eté (I am likewise Guaraní, one of ours), and the like. But it is the only autodenomination used by the communities that speak the dialect recorded by Nimuendajú with the name Apapokúva, and which seems to have been spoken also by the Tañyguá and some other hordes mentioned by that author. I propose, therefore, that the name Ñandéva be reserved for this subdivision. The Mbüá call it Txiripá ſ, "the "Little Txiripá /Chiripa/" (5).

[128]

5. /From p. 22 of the original source./ This is, by the way, the denomination used by me in an earlier work. Schaden, 1948a.

[114]

2: Schaden--10 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

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[114]

navigation by watercourses that, with some lakes, crossed the territory of the lower part of the Kulisehu and the Batovi: "It is really interesting that the name of these Indians seems to have this meaning. They are called 'Auiti' by their neighbors; which, in Guaraní, is the adjectival form apité, 'that which is in the center, in the middle.'" Karl von den Steinen, 1940, p. 192.

Among the Paraguayans they are known by the nickname Baticolas, referring to the chiripá that they wear between their legs. And in other subgroups one hears the nickname Avâhuguai, "men with tails," given for the same reason.

South of Santos two hordes of Mbüá live in the villages of Rio Branco and Rio Comprido (near Itariri). They came from southern Paraguay in the last three decades. In the west of the Brazilian states of Santa Catarina and Paraná is found in turn a series of Mbüá hordes. I was with these Indians at the post of Xapecó and in the village of Palmeirinha. Finally, numerous Mbüá are still counted in the forest region of eastern Paraguay, especially in the territory of Guaíra, but also in the northern part of Argentina and in Rio Grande do Sul.

Kayová is the third group, also known as Teñí and Tembekuá (8).

[114]

8. /From p. 23 of the original source./ Mrs. Wanda Hanke confirmed to me in 1951 that the Tembekuá she visited in northern Paraguay are culturally identical to the Kayová of Mato Grosso; and the name Tembekuá is not an auto-denomination among them. They live in the vicinity of Itakiry, from where their villages (Cupim, Formosa, etc.) can all be reached in one day of travel by horse.

[361]

The pronunciation of the name (perhaps a corruption of kâá y yguá) varies between Kaiuá and Kadjová, with the intermediate forms Kaiouá and Kayová. I use the last one (9).

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9. /From p. 23 of the original source./ In earlier works I wrote Kayuá (Schaden, 1947, 1948b).

[114]

2: Schaden--26 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani 5184

Chapter II
Physical Aspect

"Measure, only when dead, in order to see the size of the grave." This attitude, encountered among the caboclos, has already also passed over to the Guaraní. Many of the Mbyá of western Paraná refused to permit anthropometric measurements, saying that measuring the body of a person is enough to make the latter begin to pine away. In Amambai I participated in the funeral of a Kayová child: before the grave was opened, the father took the measurement, breaking a pole to the length of the body.

It is feared that the researcher, with his measurements, will make black magic against the individual. Men and women not infrequently become so terrified during the process that their sweat runs over their bodies. The persecution mania that dominates a large part of the Guaraní becomes apparent there. In Araribá, where I measured almost all of the adult Indians, the family heads would gather afterwards, in the evenings, at the chief's house to discuss the matter. In the opinion of some optimists I had taken the measurements in order to send them clothes, others would say it was in order to make pictures, others thought it a matter of military conscription, and others, finally, that it was "in order to finish us, who are already very few." This is an explanation, incidentally, that agrees very well with the afflicted spirit of the Guaraní.

In Paraná I collected the measurements of 26 Mbyá, 17 men and 9 women. At the post of Araribá the measurements covered in all 25 Ñandéva, 9 men and 16 women. The material will be analyzed in a special article. I did not take any measurements in the other settlements, out of fear of endangering the work of cultural anthropology.

Concerning the descriptive or somatoscopic characters of the Guaraní, it is difficult to establish a tribal type. There are some, especially Ñandéva, whose features are so markedly Mongoloid that it is almost impossible to distinguish them from Japanese individuals.

2: Schaden--204 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962 Sh44 Guarani Sh44

/160/

539 533 8. Éguedjý, tũpĩ ray; djadjapó pĩẽta porã, djadjapó pĩẽta, overá. (Come down, son of God -- of thunder --, let us go to have a nice feast, let us go to have a feast, there is lightning.)

These texts, whose linguistic analysis does not belong here, remind one, in their syncopated form, of the guahú songs, common at all the chicha feasts of the Kayová. For our study, however, they more importantly reveal, as is expressed in several of them, a preoccupation about crossing the sea in order to find happiness in Paradise, a subject to which the following chapter will be devoted.

000 /The notes for Ch. IX appear here on p. 180 in the original source./

/161/

Chapter X

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The Myth of Paradise in Guaraní Culture and Life

It seems undisputable that the mystical spirit dominant in all the sectors of Guaraní life can be understood on its own terms only when one considers the place of cataclysmology in the conjunction of mythical representations. The myths of the Flood, of the Universal Fire, and other cataclysms of the past are stories of exemplar function that are projected into the future as dangers hanging frighteningly over the destiny of humanity. The earth on which we live is condemned to destruction in the more or less near future, an expectation that cannot fail to be a reason for panic for those who live on it. Hence the psychic need to procure a plank of salvation, which the Guaraní finds in the myth of the Land without Evil, today a genuine element of his culture (1).

1. /The notes for Ch. X appear on pp. 176-178 in the original source./ With the statement that the myth of the Land without Evil is a genuinely Guaraní element, it is not intended to ignore the

2: Schaden--212 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/164 cont./

772 771 The denominations yvý-marã-eỹ ("land without evil") or simply yvãy (sky /Port. céu, sky, heaven, firmament/) are likewise heard among the Ñandéva, having been recorded by me in the village of Itariri and in P. I. Francisco Horta, in southern Mato Grosso. Among Paraguayan Guaraní the name Mbaéveráguasú occurs.

771 772 18 /165/ A fundamental character of the conception of Paradise in each one of the three groups into which the tribe is divided is that it is a matter of a place of safety, whose inhabitants are free, above all, from sickness and death. Yet they do not have to fear hunger, misery, and economic poverty either. But this does not necessarily correspond to the absence of work in order to obtain the means of subsistence. Thus the Mbyá of Xapecó, arriving in Paradise, expect to receive from their civilizer hero good lands for tillage, a sign that they have not yet begun to classify work as suffering. On the other hand, most of the Ñandéva, whose culture exhibits phenomena of generally more profound disintegration, and who, among other things, seem to have lost their primitive notion of work without having satisfactorily replaced it by the patterns that would correspond to it in the civilized world, almost all dream of a "dolce far niente" as an essential part of paradisiacal happiness.

771 772 [956] [178] [124] The success of the community that wants to enter the Land without Evil depends on both the spiritual endowment and conduct of the doctor-sorcerer and the fervor of his believers. If formerly the political direction of the Guaraní community was always in the hands of the priest charged with leading the believers to the Atlantic coast and from there to the Beyond, nowadays the power of the capitão or civil chief grows in the measure that they abandon the attempts to reach the Promised Land.

• [128] Because of the diversity of historical situations through which the three subgroups of the tribe have passed, it seems preferable to study each one of them separately with regard to the myth of Paradise.

2: Schaden--213 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM44 Guarani SM44

/165 cont./

1. The Ñandéva

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It is our task here to distinguish between those Ñandéva who did not see the attempt to go to the Land without Evil crowned with success and those who have not yet attempted to reach such an objective.

Among the latter are the Ñandéva of southern Mato Grosso, of the village of Jacareí. They believe, it is true, that the world is coming to an end and that its destruction, which will happen by means of fire, should be interpreted as a consequence of the wickedness of human beings, particularly the white. But everything seems to indicate that the danger is not imminent. The place of refuge is Paradise, located in the sea, like an island of happiness. So long as the faithful of the Guaraní religion follow the prescriptions of fasting and sing with frequency and fervor certain religious songs (known as ñandé-aguydjé) instead of preoccupying themselves they will reach it without first passing through /166/ death. It is said that many years ago a whole community of Indians, while it d voted itself to those religious exercises, was floating over the waters of the sea, together with the house and the earth on which it was built, just as if it were the ark of Noah. The island thus formed is now Paradise, and Avámbaékuaá, "the knower of things," together with the group that he leads, lives there. -- It should be noted, however, that in the village of Jacareí the Indians have quite satisfactory conditions of existence. They do not have great difficulty in obtaining their sustenance, and in general the rhythm of their lives is not disturbed by the interference of foreign elements. Certainly, the dream of Paradise also exists for them, but there are no activating factors sufficiently decisive to transform it into an obsession.

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For the sake of comparison with what has just been discussed, it is interesting to call attention to a story concerning the myth of Paradise collected by Nimuendajú at Araribá, thus among Indians who had already made the migration to the seacoast: "A young Guaraní once went to Rio, where he was very well received.

2: Schaden--228 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/176 cont./

/footnote 10 cont./

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substitute motivation for the objectives dictated by the culture and whose realization has become utopian by virtue of the transformations arising from cultural contacts.

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and in exceptional cases in thanatomania and suicide. /The notes for Ch. X appear on pp. 176-178 in the original source./

/179/

Conclusion

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Since the fundamental characters of the culture and of the acculturative processes have become quite explicit as the observed facts were presented, a final chapter devoted especially to the interpretation of the data seems dispensable. Rigorously speaking, the pages on the role of the myth of Paradise in the culture and in the life of the three subtribes constitute the conclusion of the essay. This myth, the point of convergence of the most significant manifestations of acculturation is, without doubt, one of the master keys for an understanding of the tribal culture, as well as of the phenomena of cultural disintegration and social disorganization observed in the Guaraní groups now existing in Brazilian territory.

It is sufficient, therefore, to take up again here some of the main points, with the aim of emphasizing the more important general aspects.

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All the spheres of the Guaraní cultural configuration, as far as it can be studied in the villages in Brazil, show profound influences from the point of view of acculturation, undergone in two distinct epochs and in essentially different situations of contact. The first ones, at the time of the Jesuit missions, affected the religious system in particular, with regard to the ceremonies as

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

PREFACE

THE field work for the present monograph was done by the writer, in the company of his wife and two Brazilian companions, in southern Mato Grosso, Brazil, from June to December, 1943. The Cayuá group primarily studied was the *colônia* of Taquapiri. This village is situated only a short distance from the Paraguay frontier, between the Mato Grosso hamlets of União and Nhu Verá (see map). União, the larger, is about twenty miles from Taquapiri and has a population of several hundred people, a platoon of soldiers, four or five small general stores, and the Indian Service post "Benjamin Constant." This post includes the Taquapiri group in its jurisdiction. Nhu Verá, the smaller of the two Brazilian hamlets, is on the Paraguayan frontier itself. There is no church at either place, though there is a Brazilian Protestant missionary at the Indian post near União. The nearest Brazilian "township" (*município*) of any size is Ponta Porã (1939 population estimated 26,000), some 75 or 100 miles distant over oxcart-worn roads. The population density of Ponta Porã, certainly greater than that of the region about Taquapiri, is given as 0.9 per square kilometer in 1939. Taquapiri was selected from three Cayuá groups visited because it appeared to present better opportunities for study. Its small size, relative compactness, and greater predominance of aboriginal practices recommended it over either of the other two places. In 1943 Taquapiri had about 175 persons, all told. Four months were spent at Taquapiri, several weeks of superficial observations and anthropometric measurements having been made previously in the Cayuá groups at Dourados and União.

The present paper is not an attempt at a complete account of the Cayuá. It is restricted to a study of Cayuá acculturation, primarily as evident at Taquapiri. A separate monograph is being written which will provide as full an account of the culture as a whole as is possible with the field work accomplished. Many points which are considered briefly in this study will thus be treated in greater detail in the monograph. But in order to avoid excessive footnoting, references to the forthcoming monograph will generally be omitted.

Grateful acknowledgement for having been enabled to do this work is made to the Department of State, U. S. A., and the Divisão de Cooperação Intelectual of the Ministério das Relações Exteriores of the Brazilian Government, under whose joint sponsorship the writer was the recipient of an Inter-American fellowship. Mr. George T. Colman, then United States Vice-Consul in São Paulo, and Mrs. Colman helped our work in many ways. Thanks and acknowledgement are also due the Museu Nacional of Brazil and its director, D. Heloisa Alberto Torres. With these auspices Brazilian personnel were included and the expedition was made a joint affair. Two young Brazilian field workers, Nelson Teixeira and Eduardo Galvão, accompanied us and col-

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

114 laborated in the field; however, the data and conclusions herein do not include any of their material nor represent the product of discussing problems with them subsequent to the period of field work.

122 We are also indebted to the Serviço de Proteção aos Indios of the Ministério da Agricultura of Brazil for having helped to make our trip a success. The representatives of the Serviço in the region of our work were especially kind and helpful. Among these are Coronel Nicolau Bueno Horta Barbosa, Chefe da Inspetoria Regional do SPI in Campo Grande, Mato Grosso, and Senhor Carvalho, *encarregado* of the Posto "Francisco Horta" at Dourados, our traveling companion and guide for a part of the trip, as well as our host at Dourados. Dayem Pereira dos Santos, *encarregado* of the Posto "Benjamin Constant" at União, and his wife, D. Balbina, time and again went out of their way to be hospitable.

128 For patient and constructive criticism of the manuscript itself many thanks are due to Professors Fred Eggan and Sol Tax of the University of Chicago. Bernard Siegel of Stanford University has also been kind enough to read and comment upon it. Virginia Drew Watson, my wife, has given generously of her time at every stage of research and writing and of her first-hand knowledge of the Taquapiri group.

122 For financial assistance in doing some of the background research and in writing the monograph the author is much indebted to the Department of Anthropology of the University of Chicago and to the Department of Sociology and Anthropology of Washington University. Mrs. Marjorie M. Tooker and Mrs. Marjorie S. Garroway efficiently and accurately typed different parts of the monograph at various stages of its development, and to them both thanks are due. Mrs. Bernice Krueger also helped with a number of final details.

The Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research of New York has generously assisted with the costs of publication, and the author is greatly indebted for this kindness.

JAMES B. WATSON

WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY
ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI

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The present monograph is organized as follows. Chapter I provides the geographical, demographic, ethnological, and environmental setting. Chapter II summarizes what are known and what are presumed to be the facts of the aboriginal culture of the Cayuá, as well as such a reconstruction can now be made. Chapter III deals with the history of the region since the first years of white discovery, exploration, and settlement. In many respects, the facts of that history, as already noted, cannot now be specifically connected with the Cayuá. But their implications are certain enough to make the historical sketch of some general value. Chapter IV is concerned with a summary of Cayuá culture at the present time, emphasizing primarily points of difference from the aboriginal culture.

Chapter V, the analysis of Cayuá acculturational change, may be less conventional. Space and time factors are taken largely for granted and there is an almost purely configurational or structural examination of the material. This is done first by recognizing and listing the factors which have been called "acculturational causes." Some of these are of the familiar type, such as the presentation of traits which the indigenes borrowed from the alien culture. Others are not "traits" of either culture, in the usual sense, but are rather the conditions resulting from the coming of the whites, those which are significant to the nature of the two cultures. These conditions have had certain effects in the cultural development of the Cayuá, but might have affected another culture differently—or perhaps not at all.

The analysis continues with a list of "primary or immediate acculturational effects" and a separate list of "secondary or derived acculturational effects." The distinction here lies between developments in Cayuá culture which occurred in *immediate response* to acculturational causes and developments, ultimately related to the same acculturational causes, which were not immediate but only secondary. There are also some general temporal implications of the distinction: the secondary effects are derivative, as a rule, and do not appear in some cases for a considerable time after their initial causes are present in the situation. The distinction between primary and secondary effects is discussed in greater detail in Chapter V.

As far as its historiographical implications are concerned, the analysis attempted here is in some respects reminiscent of Kroeber's idea of what is important in history.[1] The de-emphasis of chronology as the cardinal feature or "value" of history and the "endeavor to achieve a conceptual integration of phenomena while preserving the quality of the phenomena" seem to characterize the present method. (On the other hand, there is not much doubt that certain aspects of the present approach, such as the prominent assessment of "cause," the analytical and schematic quality, and the emphasis on process, are not in keeping with what Kroeber had in mind.) However, the writing of Cayuá history *per se* is largely incidental to our present purposes.

[1] Kroeber, 1935.

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III. THE HISTORY OF CAYUÁ CONTACT WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF EUROPEAN CULTURE

128 THE foregoing synopsis of Cayuá culture at the time of the European entry will serve as a sort of backdrop or screen against which the subsequent changes of acculturation may be better viewed. The present chapter comprises a brief historical sketch of the contact of Cayuá and neighboring peoples with Europeans and European culture. Most of the handicaps which prevail in outlining aboriginal Cayuá culture also make difficult and incomplete the tracing of the history of their European contact. The Cayuá were with little doubt, almost from the beginning of the Conquest period until almost the present, on the peripheries of effective penetration of the Europeans and their ideas; apparently they were never in long standing, direct contact with whites until quite recently. Given the difficulties mentioned, the following paragraphs attempt a summary of what there is to be known or inferred about the developing influences of European culture.

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For ease and brevity of presentation the post-Conquest history of the region in which the Cayuá live is herein divided into several periods. The divisions are somewhat arbitrary, not being entirely according to either the Cayuá point of view or that of the Spanish or Portuguese. But in a general way, the following dates mark off periods determined primarily by shifts in the principal influences occasioned by the European advent.

I. The Spanish Conquest period, about 1530 to 1610.

II. The period of Jesuit missionization, 1610 to 1768.

III. 1768 to *ca.* 1832: Decay of the missions; disturbances; contact with *mate* workers (*yerbateros*).

IV. Religiously inspired migrations ("Contra-acculturative" movement?), 1832 to 1850.

V. 1850 to 1910, the expansion of Brazilians westward (Paraguayan War, 1865–1870).

VI. 1910 to the present: SPI influence, especially in the 1920's and 1930's. Increasing white settlement.

THE SPANISH CONQUEST PERIOD, *CA.* 1530 TO 1610

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The year 1530 is an approximate date at which the Spanish explorers began to ascend the Paraná and Paraguay river systems from the Plate Estuary.[a] This was also roughly the period of beginning Spanish and Portuguese trans-

[a] The Río de la Plata was discovered in 1516 by Juan Días de Solís, who was killed by Charrua Indians on the initial trip. Cabot was the next to take up the project, but not until 1530, and was the first to establish bases on the Plata.

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IV. CAYUÁ CULTURE: THE PRESENT

SINCE points of acculturational change are primarily stressed in our study, this chapter is limited to matters in which the present Cayuá differ significantly from the past. But, while no complete description is anticipated here, the main outlines of the modern culture of the Cayuá (at Taquapiri, specifically) should nevertheless become apparent.[120] As much as possible, the various aspects of modern culture will be presented in this chapter in the same order as corresponding aspects of the aboriginal Cayuá described in Chapter II. However, where not merely modifications of the aboriginal but clear additions have been made, the earlier sequence cannot be strictly adhered to.

Only *results* of the acculturational process, as it has so far been effective, are discussed here, not the factors of acculturation in the causal sense. Thus, to take a simple case, metal tools and what metal tools mean in the present technology are noted. How the Cayuá obtained these tools, the factor of acculturation in this given instance, is not the question for the moment. To cite another example, it is pointed out that Cayuá agriculture is quite different in a number of respects from what it used to be; for one thing, it has become relatively much more important in the total economy than formerly. But in this chapter the reasons for the transformation are not discussed. The analysis of acculturation in terms of the factors affecting and effecting it, the processes which led to the present culture, will be left for Chapter V. For the moment we are merely interested in what 1943 Cayuá culture looks like, as compared to the old.

ECONOMY

Technology and Material Culture

The most notable technological change from the past is with respect to the adoption of certain metal implements which the Cayuá obtain from the whites. In order of their importance, these metal tools are machetes (usually called by this Spanish name, although Portuguese *facão* is also occasionally used), axes, and hoes (both also called by their Spanish or Portuguese names). The adopted implements are used primarily in agriculture, although they also have other applications. There has been a complete replacement of aboriginal implements formerly used for work which can now be accomplished by these metal tools, and this must have happened a considerable time ago since there are scarcely any traditions of the older tools.[121] The importance of the machete

[120] An ethnographic monograph is being written which will provide many details in which the present paper, for the reason of its particular concern, may be lacking.

[121] One informant—not an elder—told the writer that he had heard that in the old days some sort of stone axes and hoes were used, but he didn't know what kind of "machete" there might have been. Probably there was no aboriginal equivalent for the machete, so that this is a pure addition rather than a substitution of a more efficient modern implement.

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wood is obtained, water is drawn, and food is produced, cooked, and consumed. Agriculture, fishing, hunting, gathering, and trading for goods used—all these activities are carried on by the elementary family. There is, of course, mutual helpfulness among relatives, and such assistance is naturally more frequent among close relatives, but there can be no mistaking the present fundamental unit.

The shift in house types to the present, smaller types of dwellings involves somewhat varying architectural patterns, but all of them are basically different from the *tapúi*.[140] Architecturally it is usually easy to distinguish the old from the new in Cayuá dwellings. The old-style *tapúi*, which is still to be seen today at Taquapiri and at other Cayuá villages, had no walls, or, more precisely, the wall and the roof were not distinct; the roof extended in one unbroken incline from its peak to the ground. The walls of modern houses are perpendicular to the ground. Significantly, the Cayuá call the distinct roofs of their modern type houses "*téšo*," which is apparently from the Spanish *techo* or "roof." This suggests that the aboriginal word did not distinguish between "roof" and "wall" and, therefore, that the architecture wherein the two are different is new.[141] The newer types of houses are not uniform in structural detail, but all have certain features in common which are sufficient to distinguish them from the *tapúi*. Besides having separate roofs and walls, the modern houses do not have thatch walls (their roofs, though, are of thatch) like the "walls" of the *tapúi*. Modern walls are usually made of 6" to 8"-bamboo trunks split many times about the perimeter and opened and flattened into a sort of board. This use of bamboo not only does not occur in the *tapúi* or any other aboriginal type of construction, as far as is known, but would not have been practicable before the advent of metal tools. The foregoing architectural features alone would be infallible in distinguishing the *tapúi* from modern Cayuá dwellings, but there is also the matter of size. Although size varies among the modern houses, as it did among aboriginal *tapúi*, the old *tapúi* were apparently much larger on the average than any modern type house seen or reported. The evident reason is that the *tapúi* were intended to hold more people—the extended family. The relation of the change in size of households to the change in size of houses thus seems close and obvious.

Technologically *tapúi* construction required the work of a fair number of men—possibly all the male members of an extended family. On the other hand, without metal tools to make the bamboo "boards," not even a sizeable

[140] It has been thought well to consider house types here, apart from the rest of material culture, because of their implications in the question of the production-consumption-dwelling unit of Cayuá society.

[141] If the supposed etymology of the modern Cayuá word is correct, it indicates the probable European provenience of certain non-aboriginal architectural ideas. Even so, however, this gives only the pattern from which the small houses were borrowed; the question of why remains.

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V. ANALYSIS

IN this chapter consideration of Cayuá acculturation is directed to the analysis of three principal questions: 128 • 177* 182

1. What changes have occurred in the culture of the modern Cayuá, insofar as the sources of such changes are acculturational?

2. What are the specific acculturational sources of these various changes?

3. How are the various acculturational causes related to their respective results; or what is the configuration or structure of Cayuá acculturation? Is there in all respects a uniform trend, or does one result of acculturation sometimes conflict with another?

In Chapter IV, Cayuá Culture: The Present, the various changes, the concern of the first question above, are considered in comparison with Cayuá Culture in the Past. (See Chapter II.) Since the comparison also provides some description of the modern cultural setting of these innovations, it will only be necessary here to present a summary list of acculturational changes, without the previous detail of context, in order to see them in aggregate. A list of acculturational changes in Cayuá culture has been organised into a chart, pp. 96–97, the items under II. A. and II. B., "Effects of Acculturation."

Many of the changes listed represent only differences of degree, compared to the past; a few are differences of kind. Differences of degree are usually indicated by words such as "more," "greater," or "less," "diminished," and so forth, as the case may be. These acculturational changes form no strict chronological group except, of course, that they are all post-European contact.

The reason for subdividing acculturational changes, that is, the distinction between primary and secondary acculturational effects, will concern us presently.

The second question we are to consider in this chapter (What are the acculturational sources of these changes?) calls for a summary of the points of impingement and influence of European culture upon Cayuá culture. (Strictly speaking, of course, "European culture" means the several temporo-spatial variants which enter into the case.) These influences are discussed in their historical (temporo-spatial) context in Chapter III, so it will here be necessary only to list the acculturational sources already elaborated, as we have done above with the acculturational changes. Such a list may be seen by referring again to the chart, pp. 96–97, under the heading of I. "Causes of Acculturation."

While the points of European cultural impingement and influence are naturally related to the character of European culture itself, they are not all strictly *traits* of European culture. In fact, many of the points of European impingement upon the Cayuá are not in the least features of European culture *per se;* rather, they are conditions peculiar to the particular context of Euro-

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128 177 182 pean culture we happen to be dealing with, that is, European culture *vis-à-vis* Cayuá culture. In this sense, it was not a trait of European culture, for example, to guarantee the Cayuá freedom from hostile attack. However, the character of European culture was such that, when Europeans had settled in sufficient numbers about the Cayuá, something in the nature of an SPI was organized which would guarantee and impose order, in the European sense, in the situation. Had Cayuá culture been other than it was, the particular acculturational causes effective in change might theoretically have been as different as if European culture itself had been something else. Both cultures, European and Cayuá, were necessary to the definition and determination of the acculturational causes which can now be recognized as operative in the Cayuá instance. Thus, some of the acculturational factors recognized can little more be said to be traits of European culture than they can properly be called traits of Cayuá culture. So far in this chapter we have dealt with two broad classes (lists) of factors. These are characterized as (1) "Causes of Acculturation" and (2) "Effects of Acculturation." But "Effects of Acculturation" are further broken into two subclasses, (A) "Primary or Immediate Effects of Acculturation" and (B) "Secondary or Derived Effects of Acculturation." The basis for the distinction, which will concern us throughout this chapter, is that secondary effects are the longer range or "derived" acculturational changes; primary effects are the "immediate" changes. It will be our task now to examine these factors in their structural or configurational contexts.

How are the various acculturational causes related to their respective results; what is the structure or configuration of Cayuá acculturation? For purposes of clarity and brevity, we may refer again to the chart (pp. 96–97). The three aforementioned lists or classes of factors are given in separate columns, showing diagrammatically, in the simplest possible manner, the principal causal relations among the factors. This chart will be made the basis of subsequent discussion of the relations of factors, and occasional reference to it may save some time. Some of the connections represented are fairly obvious, but others are probably less immediately apparent or may even be controvertible. Lines indicate factors which stand respectively in cause and effect relation to each other, left-to-right direction showing which is the effect and which is the cause. (Note: dotted and solid lines are equivalent; dotted lines are employed only to make the chart easier to read.)

The chart is concerned primarily with a *configurational* analysis of the factors of Cayuá acculturation—not with a temporal one. At the same time, of course, it is obvious that "effects" must stand in a particular temporal relationship to their respective "causes" since a singular cause necessarily precedes its effect. However, this point will not carry us far as to specifying time relations. In a large number of instances several causes, coming into being at different times, are recognized as contributing to a given effect. Furthermore,

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not all of the several contributory causal factors necessarily become operative in the situation before any realization of the effect; some factors merely reinforce an effect already observable. Let us take as an example of our analysis (II. A. a.) "Agriculture becomes more important in the total economy of the Cayuá." At least six different causal factors are indicated on the chart as playing a part in this effect. One factor is (I. b.) the introduction of metal implements which serve to make modern agriculture more efficient and practicable on a larger scale than aboriginally. This particular factor is one which occurred relatively early in Cayuá acculturation since the Cayuá probably had acquired a slight knowledge of metal implements even before they knew much of the white man at close hand. Hence, as far as acculturation is concerned, this is an "old" factor making for agricultural expansion. Another factor which played a part in the present importance of agriculture is (I. g.) the "Development of an external market for small quantities of certain Cayuá products, principally agricultural products . . ." On a limited scale the Cayuá are now able to produce agriculturally for exchange with whites in return for white trade goods. But such trade is quite recent; it is much more recent, certainly, than the introduction of metal implements. Moreover, Cayuá agriculture necessarily had expanded much beyond its aboriginal scale before any regular exchange of agricultural produce with whites was feasible. Here, then, is a "new" factor in Cayuá agricultural expansion.

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One point this illustration makes is that a trend in the direction of a given acculturational effect may already be initiated before all the ultimate contributory factors become operative. Causal factors, therefore, are not inevitably "causal" in the sense of *initiating* their related effects. Some causes are actually secondary in time and are effective mainly in consolidating or increasing effects already in process through other causes. Metal tools might be one of a number of initiating factors before which no expansion of agriculture was likely. But the possibility of exchanging an agricultural surplus with whites was not in any sense necessary to agriculture nor has it, *per se*, initiated the larger scale of Cayuá production; it has, however, favored an increase which was already present or in process, possibly contributing to expanded plantings.

As we have said above, our analysis is more concerned with the configurational aspects or interrelatedness of factors of cause and effect and less with questions of temporal sequence. There are other comparable points of general implication regarding the method of analysis represented by the foregoing chart. These can be better appreciated after a discussion of the actual relations between factors which the chart summarizes.

The factors will be considered by classes. First we shall take up, each one separately, the (II. A.) primary or immediate effects of acculturation, and, thereafter (II. B.), the secondary or derived effects. It is scarcely necessary or possible to consider separately the causes of Cayuá acculturation since these

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128 causes are largely to be recognized in the effects to which they are related and
177 which are their expression and will thus become clear in the discussion of their
182 respective acculturational effects. Other than convenience or chance, there is no special reason for the order in which the various factors have been listed in each class. (We shall include in parentheses, each time we first mention any factor, the numeral-letter key to its location in the chart.)

PRIMARY EFFECTS OF ACCULTURATION

177 II. A. a. "Agriculture becomes more important in the total economy of the
182 Cayuá." Several factors have contributed to this effect, and the relationship
241 is quite plain in most cases between these factors and the trend toward a larger scale agriculture. The guarantee of freedom from attack and from the need of recourse to arms (I. a.) permitted the Cayuá to devote more time to other pursuits and particularly to depend more heavily upon agriculture. A fixed source of food, of course, is a liability when retreat and destruction are in prospect. The modern Cayuá could develop and maintain their *kokué* on a scale which would have been impossible under the necessity of being ready to abandon them hurriedly. No longer did they have to conceal them by making clearings small and inconspicuous in the forest so as to escape hostile notice.

[412] A different influence, but with much the same result, is (I. b.) the introduction of metal implements such as the machete, hoe, and axe which facilitated agriculture technologically. These implements enabled the same amount of work as before to be done better in less time—and probably with a smaller expenditure of total effort. Thus, so to speak, there was, in comparison with the past, a "surplus" of time to be used in other activities or in more extensive
[224] agriculture. Since the most important other activities of men, hunting and
[226] fishing, were concurrently becoming less practicable, or at any rate demanding less time (as we shall see in II. A. b. below), there would obviously be a tendency to turn to the increased agricultural production of food. The heightened efficiency of the agricultural technology in turn made such a prospect less arduous.

177 The territorial restriction of the Cayuá and their final location upon rela-
182 tively small reservations (I. c.), of course, favored agriculture; it became
241 necessary to curtail economic activities, such as hunting and fishing, that de-
621 pended upon greater mobility and a wider territory of exploitation. Agriculture remained practically the only possible direction in which Cayuá could compensate for their consequent economic losses. In a sense, then, we see here the reverse of the presumably usual relation between sedentarism and intensive agriculture. Generally sedentarism comes about "naturally," one supposes, but in the Cayuá case it was increased and enforced politically from outside. Thus, instead of resulting from intensive agriculture, the fixation of territory tended rather to bring that intensification about.

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goods and metal tools are significant, since it has been the commonest way for Cayuá to obtain trade goods. The following are instances: increased agricultural production (i.e. in providing metal tools) (II. A. a.), (II. A. d.) the decrease or loss of certain Cayuá crafts (i.e. in providing trade goods substitutes), and (II. A. f.) trade relations with Neo-Brazilians (since the *changa* involves dealings with whites for goods and sometimes for money). The *changa* also occupies a certain amount of work time and in this sense has tended to conflict somewhat with (II. A. a.) the development of agriculture. In the same way it is a factor in the decline of such activities as hunting and fishing (II. A. b.). But the *changa* has tended to reinforce the Cayuá in their own agriculture, on the other hand, in the sense that it usually involves the same type of (agricultural) work. It has not, therefore, necessitated habituation to a different set of skills which might conflict with agriculture. Moreover, habituation to agricultural operations may have been of considerable account in the past when the Cayuá man, we are led to believe, was not the farmer he is today.

II. A. f. "Trade relations with Neo-Brazilians are established and increase. These involve both (1) buying white trade goods, and (2) selling small amounts of certain Cayuá products." Several acculturational causes have favored the establishment of trade relations with Neo-Brazilians. Among the most important are the introduction of trade goods (I. b. and I. e.) which the Cayuá came to require, and (I. f.) the growth of a market for certain Cayuá goods, including a few craft products. The development of *changa* wage-work (II. A. e.) has fostered trade relations with Neo-Brazilians, and *changa* is now an important factor in the flow of goods and services. The development of aboriginal agriculture to a point where an occasional tradable surplus now exists (II. A. a.) has made possible the inclusion of certain agricultural produce in the limited two-way commerce between Cayuá and Neo-Brazilians.

SECONDARY EFFECTS OF ACCULTURATION

Having discussed II. A., primary or immediate effects of acculturation, we may turn to II. B., secondary or derived effects of acculturation. "Secondary Effects" are distinguished from "Primary Effects" as being on the whole less immediate in time to the conditions of white advent and less immediate in causal relation to these conditions. "Secondary Effects" are related through "Primary Effects" to the factors we have been treating as "Causes of Acculturation." "Primary Effects," therefore, are primary in the causal sense of the configuration under study, and "Secondary Effects" are in the same sense causally secondary or derived.

An example may suffice. The first "Secondary Effect" discussed below is (II. B. b.) "Individual economic differentiation." This effect is expressed both in the growing specialization of individuals in crafts and also in the increasingly clear alternatives for men of earning a living either in wage-work or, tradi-

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• 128 tionally, in their own clearings. It is clear that "individual economic differenti-
• 177 ation" is secondary here to the existence of a system of wage-work. Likewise it
182 is secondary to the decline of certain crafts and the development of specialists in the remaining ones. Yet these latter two contributory factors, though acculturational, are not the initial causes of acculturation, that is, are not themselves the facts of the white culture and its advent. They are already the *primary* or *immediate* effects of certain facts of white culture upon the culture of the Cayuá. An effect such as the economic differentiation of individual Cayuá is one step farther along and therefore is secondary to the initial effects of acculturation from which it is derived.

The following secondary effects of acculturation, then, are classed together as having in common that they are not immediate results of acculturational influences upon the Cayuá. They are cultural changes which have come about through the interrelatedness of various of the initial or primary acculturational effects described foregoing. There are implications of neither chronology nor relative significance in the order of discussion of the secondary effects.

[462] II. B. b. "Individual economic differentiation: (1) increasing craft spe-
[241] cialization among both men and women; (2) tendency toward male alterna-
[464] tives re extent of work in own agriculture or in *changa*." The acculturational causes of craft specialization are not far to seek. Former native products were in many cases ousted as the Cayuá came more and more to depend upon trade goods equivalents, as we have noted above (pp. 101–102), resulting in (II. A. d.) the loss or decline of several native industries. No longer does each adult male or female necessarily know even the craft skills that presently remain—let alone all of the aboriginal crafts once taken for granted. Yet, since some craft products are still actually used and needed, persons who lack the corresponding skills are obliged to depend for these items on other Cayuá who still retain their skills. The result is specialization.

Trade may also have aided in the specialization of remaining native industries (II. A. f.) because it inclines people to think of obtaining goods by other methods than producing them themselves. A Cayuá whose wife does not make hammocks may obtain one by exchanging some store cloth or other trade goods for it, or even by purchasing it for money, though the latter is rare. *Changa* and trade, therefore, have provided in some sense the possibility for successful limited craft specialization. The man who spends too much time in *changa* moreover, is not only able (by exchanging white goods thus acquired) but is practically obliged to obtain some of the Cayuá-produced things he needs from other Cayuá.

464 Although it is only incipient as yet, there is some reason to think that
• 177 (II. A. e.) the *changa* will eventually take its place alongside Cayuá own pro-
182 duction as a major means of earning a living. Wage work may never completely oust domestic production—and it is certainly far from even threatening to do so at the present time; but there are already, in the case of a few individuals,

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*177 of great stress; the culture, therefore, manifested at nearly all times a rela-
*178 tively high degree of organization. The possibility cannot be entirely ruled out, however, lacking historical data, that Cayuá acculturation may have been marked by moments of crisis. In consequence of this lack of fuller knowledge of its course, the question may legitimately be raised as to whether or how much we can discuss of Cayuá acculturation. The answer appears to turn about the type of analysis of acculturation which has been attempted in the present monograph.

A NOTE ON THE PROCEDURES EMPLOYED IN THIS STUDY

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• 128 The point has just been stressed that full data are lacking for certain important aspects of the acculturation of the Cayuá, specifically for such a question as whether the course of change was rough or smooth. A lack of in-
*177 formation on many related questions has also been noted throughout the
*178 paper. The problem raised by these lacunae is twofold: how was the information available treated to derive the conclusions which have been presented, and how much confidence may be placed in the results?

In the first place, many of the differences between the present and the aboriginal culture of the Cayuá can easily be appraised. Clear-cut qualitative or quantitative modifications stand out, even against the incomplete picture of the aboriginal culture that can be reconstructed; but lesser differences of degree, or perhaps even of kind, must be largely putative, or sometimes unwittingly ignored. So much for the mere roster of changes. Here the account is a much fuller one than in connection with the question of when particular events occurred and under what conditions. The argument of the present paper, therefore, has been much more heavily dependent on data of the former type than on the actual history of change. The data used, moreover, have largely determined the use made of them.

The analysis of Cayuá material, especially in Chapter V, has been characterized as "configurational." What does this mean? For one thing, chronology, either relative or absolute, plays little part in it. The occurrence of changes is noted and their causes are assigned, generally with no mention of either precise dates or the pre- or post-occurrence of other events. (In the Cayuá case, little or nothing usually can be said about the circumstances of such events anyway, other than in reference to the general circumstance or context of the culture to which or in which the events were occurring.) The configurational analysis dwells, first, on identifying factors of cause or effect, and, second, on establishing relationships among causes and effects. Causes of acculturation mean those changes in the total Cayuá environment initially traceable to the presence or influence of members of an alien, European society and which have produced changes in Cayuá culture. All such causes, then, are specifically defined as limited to changes in the situation as a direct conse-

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quence of whites. Effects distinguished herein, of course, are of two kinds, primary or immediate, and secondary or derived, the latter reflecting the more complete adjustment process or ramification of change within the indigenous culture. Where possible, relationships among causes and effects are distinguished as initiatory, on the one hand, or merely contributory, on the other. This distinction is not possible in many cases, however, where chronology, which is usually a key, is unknown.

The configurational treatment has the result of telescoping chronological differences among acculturational trends and factors. The time of manifestation of effects, and the shifting relative effectiveness of causes are not, for the most part, the concern of the analysis. A sort of composite picture of the range and number of trends is thus presented and the several trends are traced only in their causal interrelationships.

Yet the configurational analysis cannot completely eschew chronology, since without it one is handicapped for the fullest possible discussion of causality. Where one factor or trend can be known to have manifested itself earlier than another, there are surer grounds for the assessment of a causal relationship. Temporal priority of a trend, however, does not completely determine causality, but it may be crucial to the question of whether a causal relationship is initiatory or merely contributory. For instance, there can be little doubt that the Cayuá bartering of surplus agricultural produce for trade goods is causally related to the increasing scale of agriculture. The priority of the increasing scale of agriculture as a trend, therefore, does not destroy the argument of a causal relationship, but it does establish that agricultural barter could only be contributory—not initiatory—to the former trend. The configurational analysis of Cayuá acculturation thus lays heavy emphasis upon the assessment of causal relationships, and, for this very reason, the few chronological data available, not in themselves primarily important, are used to help specify causal relationships among factors and trends.

In view of the discussion of causal relationship and chronology, two questions logically raised at this point are (a) how causes and effects are determined, and (b) how relationships among them are established. Practically, these questions are almost inseparable since it is partly with respect to the detection of a causal relationship that a cause is specified. The procedure actually begins with the study of effects of acculturation. Many of these are easily determined, as has been mentioned above, through comparison of the modern culture with the best available reconstruction of the aboriginal. The major effects thus stand out, though minor effects of acculturation may be overlooked. This much is fairly obvious and quite the standard procedure in acculturation study or in the study of culture change in general. Now causes, at least some of the more evident ones, might be specified from available history of the influence of whites upon Indians, as well as from the knowledge of

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121 white culture, generally. But not every aspect of white culture, of course—
128 not even every cultural difference between it and the indigenous culture—
177 enters as a definable cause into the acculturation of the native group; and the
178 history of contact is not a sufficient guide to causality without a joint consideration of what modifications actually occur in the native culture. Thus, in the specification of causes, the history of contact and the ethnography of the European group are always accompanied by the consideration of changes in Cayuá culture and of what possible relationships of causality pertain to them. Ultimately, therefore, one comes to the question of how causality is to be determined.

The method of determining the relationship between causes and effects of acculturation is implicit in much of the discussion of Chapter V. A number of considerations, logical, functional, and chronological-historical, enter in, as well as the projection of present relationships back into the past. Any or all of these considerations are raised for whatever light they may throw upon the nature and direction of trends. An example of a causal relationship predicated upon logical grounds is that between availability of the machete, as a cause, and its adoption and influence in the increasing scale of agriculture, as effects or phases of a trend (see p. 98). The functional consideration, which is closely akin to the logical, suggests the influence of the individualistic tendencies of wage-work, for example, upon joint economic usages of the extended family type (see pp. 108–109). The historical and chronological consideration indicates influence of the SPI upon the Cayuá, such as their assignment to reservations, and the centralization of political authority (see pp. 121–123). An illustration of projecting present relationships backward in time is the consideration of contemporary residence patterns in relation to the consequent need for shelters in some agricultural clearings (*poiois*). This present relationship is suggested as possible evidence of the origin of such shelters in Cayuá culture (see pp. 86–87). (The inherent dangers of projecting present relationships back into the past, by the way, are also well illustrated by the example of agricultural field shelters. The acculturational origin of these shelters could only be tentatively postulated in this manner, and was far from being proven.) These examples of the different considerations suggest how putative causes may be related, with varying degrees of certainty, to given effects of acculturation.

Two things remain to be pointed out about this method of establishing causality. First, in most actual cases no one of the foregoing considerations, logical, functional, historical, or reconstructive, would be employed singly; usually more than one is employed—all if possible. Bringing to bear various considerations upon a possible causal relationship, particularly if the indications lead to mutual confirmation, seems to hold a reasonable guarantee of correctness. This raises the second point, that there is no bias in favor of single

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causes—quite the contrary. Indeed, most trends have been assigned more than one cause. Moreover, there has been no general attempt, especially in doubtful cases, to assess the relative importance or temporal priority of different causes of a given trend or effect—whether they were related merely as contributory or as initiatory causes. If strong evidence is lacking, the analysis stops at merely indicating the presence of a causal relationship of unspecified importance, between two factors. Other than the lack of a prominent concern with chronology, therefore, the essential difference between the configurational analysis and conventional historical treatment may be the latter's constant assessment of relative causal importance.

The foregoing description of the method, or configurational analysis, employed in the present paper is not meant as an unqualified recommendation of it. The analysis has obvious shortcomings and is certainly not proposed as a substitute for a fuller and more conventional treatment of acculturation whenever the necessary data are to be had. As suggested earlier, the present approach to the study of Cayuá acculturation has been largely dictated by the fact that many data essential to a more conventional, historical treatment are actually unavailable. Without these data not only can less be done in the treatment of the problem, but at many points there can only be less confidence in the conclusions suggested. It was necessary, nevertheless, to employ an analysis which could make maximum use of the kind of data available. At the same time, the analysis had to be one which would be handicapped to the minimum by the lack of full historical information of the time and circumstances under which many critical acculturational events occurred. The configurational analysis, largely omitting the chronological element and questions of the relative causal importance of factors, is the result.

In spite of shortcomings, however, the analysis has some partly self-corrective qualities which compensate for whatever risk there may be in assessing causes without complete historical data. For one thing, all known effects of acculturation are listed insofar as the culture was studied. The listing of effects or changes is reasonably certain, of course, the only source of error being inaccuracy or incompleteness of information about the aboriginal and modern cultures. All discoverable and putative major causes of acculturation are similarly listed and are fairly reliable, depending upon history, white ethnography, and so forth. This much is practically all that some studies of acculturation attempt and it is probably of some use by itself. The "cement" or relationships of cause and effect is what has further been supplied by the present analysis, via the logico-functional-historical-reconstructive considerations described. The risk in this operation, however, is again limited since in doubtful cases no attempt is made to assess the relative importance of different causes mutually related to a given effect. Thus the analysis is somewhat modest in what it attempts with modest data.

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What does the configurational analysis accomplish and what are its limits? Given an emphasis on process, there appear to be two major problems of acculturation study. One of these has to do with the "Why?", so to speak, and the other with the "What?". The first problem is concerned with why the given causes, and only the given causes, were effective in producing change. In other words, why, of all the cultural differences, and hence potential causes of acculturation, between the donor and receptor cultures, do just the particular causes registered become effective? This appears to be a theoretical problem of the first water in the study of acculturation, but it has been largely ignored in the present monograph.

The second problem deals with what changes actually take place and the process through which they are realised. This has been the preoccupation throughout in the study of Cayuá acculturation. To this problem the configurational analysis seems fairly well adapted, and it highlights the direction of culture change. Considering present and past trends in their causation—as complete as possible—gives a fuller basis for prediction or extrapolation of known direction into the future. Present and past trends in the light of causal factors also provide a fuller understanding of the dynamic qualities of Cayuá culture. In this way can be seen the latent potentialities of the culture as revealed by their expression through time under these certain conditions. The synchronic study of a culture is, by contrast, truncated: it affords only a more limited idea of what sort of future or past is probable, and the element of control is necessarily foreshortened. Here then, if anywhere, is a vital contribution that studies of culture change, including acculturation, can make to the completer understanding of cultures in particular and culture in general. The configurational analysis represented in this monograph purports to make such a contribution if only one which is limited because of limited data.

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is missing in the original text./

5. Ibid., p. 5.

121 The discussion of the kinship system of the Cayuá can be divided into two distinct parts, kinship terminology and kinship behavior. The kinship behavior will be discussed first in terms of the life cycle and then in terms of reciprocal behavior.

Kinship Terminology

•128 601 The charts I, II, and III[1] represent diagrams of the kinship terminology of the Cayuá. Portuguese terms /translated into English for Chart I/ are used in these diagrams for simplification. The Cayuá terms are brought together in Chart IV.[2]

601 The kinship system is classificatory, since the relatives of the lineage and the collateral ones are put together in the same class. The father's brother is classified with the father, and the mother's sister is classified with the mother, while the mother's brother and the father's sister are designated with distinct terms. The grandparents are distinguished only according to sex, and the terms that denominate the grandparents are also extended to their "siblings" (6).

6. "Siblings" are brothers and sisters who have the same mother and the same father.

All the grandchildren are put together in one class without any distinction, not even as to sex. In the generation of Ego the older brother is distinguished from the younger brother, and the older sister from the younger sister. These designations are extended to the /34/ parallel and cross cousins. The brother's children are son and daughter in the words of the man, and nephew and niece in the words of the woman. All the children of sons and daughters and nephews and nieces are grandchildren.

[1] [pp. 20 and 21 of translated text--analyst]
[2] [pp. 22 and 23 of translated text--analyst]

/44 cont./

601 The Cayuá kinship system is a relatively simple classificatory system, which is based on the genealogical principle and in which the kinship terms are extended bilaterally. All the members of Ego's generation are classified as brothers and sisters, being differentiated according to age. In the first descending generation the son or the daughter of some person designated as brother is called son or daughter in the words of the man, and nephew or niece in the words of the woman, whereas the son or daughter of some person designated as sister is a nephew or niece in relation to the man, and son or daughter to the woman. In the second descending generation all the sons and daughters of sons and daughters and of nephews and nieces are called grandchildren. In the first ascending generation, the mother is classified with the mother's sister, while the father and the father's brother are classified with the mother's brother and the father's sister, but designated with distinct terms. The relatives of the second ascending generation, including the grandparents and the "siblings," are differentiated only in relation to sex. This system, although simple, can be considered well balanced, since it establishes the relations between the persons of the community in such a way that a minimum of friction resulted.

Problems for Future Research

•128 The present discussion of the Cayuá kinship system is limited to the manner in which this system is manifested and applied in the habitual relations between persons. A certain number of problems also related to this aspect have already been discussed. The relations between the kinship system and the religion and the economic institutions were considered very little. The latter will be studied in another work.

121 178 60 433 182 Besides this there remains more or less untouched a problem of historical order, that is, the one of the manner in which the kinship system was affected by the change that took place in the